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DETHRONEMENT OF NAPOLEON.

"It is ended," says the *COURIER* newspaper. "*The Drama is closed*," says the *CHRONICLE*; "Mine eyes have seen thy salvation," says the half-canting and half-blasphemous *TIMES*.—Indeed, the grand contest is now come to an end, and we shall have leisure to look back and to contrast our situation at the commencement of it, with what it is now.—At present, I shall confine myself to some few observations (for thousands offer themselves) upon the *causes* and the *effects* of the dethronement of Napoleon.—The *immediate* causes of this event were, evidently, the loss of his army in Russia, the subsequent abandonment of him, in the midst of battle, by his German Allies, and the overwhelming force of the combined armies. But, the more distant cause, and the only cause, was his *vanity*; that vanity, which led him to seek family alliances with the ancient sovereigns of Europe. He lost the hearts of all the best men of France; that is to say, of the enlightened friends of freedom, by abolishing the Republic, by assuming the title of Emperor, and by acting the despot; but, he lost his crown by his vanity; and, by a species of vanity, too, the most contemptible of all:—He must needs be, not only a *Royal* personage, but he must be related to the *old Royal* race; he must marry amongst them; and, which was most abominable, after all that the people of France had done to get rid of the family influence of the House of Austria, he must needs bring a daughter of that house and place over that same French people: He must bring the niece of that same Marie Antoinette, whom the French people, in the excess of their resentment against her, had dragged to the scaffold.—This was an unpardonable offence in the eyes of the friends of freedom; and would have been atoned for by nothing short of his employing his power to the general benefit of mankind. But, to himself, the consequence of this vanity of his has been ruin. For, if he had been possessed with no such vanity; if he had even been resolved to be an *Emperor*, or a *King*, without this alliance, he

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would, as he was able, have *destroyed all the old dynasties*; ALL the sovereigns of Europe would have been of his creation; their right to reign would, every where, have rested upon the same basis; and, of course, whatever *wars* might have arisen amongst them, the *dethronement* of no one would have been in contemplation. If he had, when he had it in his power, furnished Austria and Prussia with kings, he would not now have lived to accept of his life at the hands of the sovereigns of those countries. But, this would not have suited the purposes of his vanity; his contemptible vanity, which urged him on to seek family alliances with the old Royal race. He spared the father in order to obtain the daughter: He supported the old Royal race, because he wanted to secure a dynasty of his own: He made common cause, in fact, with the old Royal race, as towards the people, hoping thereby to have their aid and countenance in support of his title and that of his descendants: He joined the old Royal race, in the hope of their being reconciled to his power; he discouraged and forbade every act in France tending to expose to hatred, or contempt, any of the old Royal race in any country of Europe; and, as in the instance of FONTANES's speech, he sought to curry favour with sovereigns in general, by speaking contemptuously of the *people*. For *these things* he deserves his fate, and a fate a great deal worse than that which appears to have befallen him. *These* are his sins in my eyes. He had the power of doing great good; he had the power to give freedom to all Europe; he did much good to France; he established, or rather, he did not destroy, the good laws which the Republicans had made; he did not bring back and replant the curses, which the Republicans had rooted out: France, under him, was much happier than France was before the revolution. But, the lovers of freedom put great means into his hands; he had a mind calculated to give effect to those means; he did, for a while, employ them well; but, being seized with the vanity of being a king, and with that most abominable

itch of being a *papa* and leaving a son, descended from a mother of the old Royal race, he, from that moment, wholly abandoned the good cause, and laid the foundation of what has now come to pass. — When he received the notice from the Emperors of Austria and Russia and the King of Prussia to quit France, I dare say it occurred to him, that it would not have happened thus, if he had done what he might so easily have done after the battles of Austerlitz, Eylau, and Jena. If he had done *then* what he might have done; what he had the power to do; what the French nation wished him to do; what his principles at the out-set would have dictated to him; he would never have seen these sovereigns at Paris at the head of victorious armies. His vanity; his paltry vanity; his most nauseous vanity; his desire to connect himself by marriage with the old Royal race, and, in order to secure a succession to his throne, to make common cause with that race as towards the people; this it was that prevented him from using his power in that way, which alone could give security to his own authority. He might have been even an *Emperor*, if his vanity, the nonsensical vanity, of allying himself with the old Royal race had not seized him. But, it seems, that, having risen to an imperial crown *himself*, he did not think proper to raise others, his former equals, to royal dignities, except his own *brothers and relations*. He wanted a part, at least, and the main part, of the old Royal race to remain in power, that he might have the glory of being allied to it by the "*tender ties*," as the *Moniteur* used to call it; and this stopped him in the execution of those acts, which *alone* could, for any length of time, secure him upon his throne. — This is the cause of his fall. His fall is the fruit of his vanity; and, to indulge that vanity, he was led to betray the cause of freedom; to misuse the power which the friends of freedom had put into his hands; to put off, perhaps, for the life of man, the benefits which might have proceeded from his acting upon the principles of those from whom he derived his power. — He may now, in the Island of Elba, or in whatever other hidden corner of the earth he may be suffered to exist, enjoy the thought of being allied by the "*tender ties*" to his august father-in-law, the Emperor of Germany; the thought of having mixed his blood with that of Maria Theresa; the thought of having in his arms a niece of the Royal Marie Antoinette, whose

head the French people severed from her body. But, he may be deprived even of this; for, the Pope, being restored to a free exercise of his power, may be disposed to consent to a *divorce* of this daughter of Austria from a man, who was married at the time of his second nuptials. It is said, that the "*Empress, Queen and Regent*," has retired with him; but, I much question whether her father will suffer her to remain in that retirement. If he had been disposed to consider Napoleon and his child as part of his family, he would not have consented to his dethronement; and, therefore, as I observed, some time ago, this consent seems to forebode a divorce. — Now, as to the *probable effects* of this great event, as far as relates to *France*, in all likelihood, the ancient regime, with some exceptions, will be re-established. To believe that a *free government* will be established in France, under such auspices, would be foolish; but, it will be impossible to make the government what it was before. The nobility, the clergy, all that is left alive of the old school, will go back; but, the *seigneurial* and *provincial courts* and parliaments; the game laws of *Capitaines*, the gabelles, the *gabelles*, the *corvées*, and the hellish *lettres de cachet*, cannot be revived without a long and bloody civil war. The restoration of the property of the landed church may, in part, take place; but I question whether the restoration of *tithes* will be attempted. So that, even without any *constitution*; even without the positive and direct recognition of any one principle of liberty, the people of France will have been great gainers by their revolution; and those, who are now alive, will owe great gratitude to those who have shed their blood in the obtaining and securing of this better state of things. We shall see, by and by, what will be done; but, without waiting to know any thing about the designs of the King of France, we may venture to predict, and almost to assert, that what will have been gained by the people, will be found to be worth more than all the sacrifices that they have made, great as those sacrifices have undoubtedly been. There may be men to counsel vindictive measures; but they cannot punish a whole nation. The new government will not want a civil war to begin with. It will want, for a time at least, peace and the good will of the great mass of the people. It will have a *fighting* people to deal with. It cannot get rid of them. It cannot keep them in



subjection against their will; and, therefore, it must conciliate: it must not suffer the people to regret the fall of Napoleon.

—This is a great point to keep in view.

For, let the reader observe, that every proposition for the destruction of *bribery and corruption* will be now met with a remark, that we ought to look at the *example of France*. So that, it will be of the first, of the very first importance, for us to mark with great care what *that example* really does tell us. The Revolution is now ended: the “drama is closed:” and, though it has not closed in the way that the Republicans in France must have wished, we must take care to note, very carefully, what *difference* there is between the state of things about to take place, and the state of things *before the revolution*; and, if we find, that the people of France have been *bettered upon the whole*; if we find them *better* at the *end* than they were at the *beginning*, their example, at any rate, will be no very sound argument, why we should not, especially when all danger from without is removed, coolly, peaceably, and constitutionally demand our rights.—Before I proceed to remark upon the effects which the fall of Napoleon will be likely to produce in *this country*, I must stop, a moment, to observe, that this close of the drama leaves the friends of freedom nothing to be ashamed of. Napoleon was an *Emperor and King*; the son-in-law of an Emperor; allied by marriage to several royal families; the founder, not of free constitutions, but of despotic governments. He destroyed the Inquisition; he destroyed the temporal powers of the Pope; he did much good, but he was first a traitor to, and then the foe of, freedom. It is not a First Consul, it is not a republican chief, but it is an Emperor and King who has fallen. While the banners of freedom waved over his head, nothing could resist him and his armies. France was invaded before, and by the very same enemies who have invaded her now. She now has had all Europe to contend against, and so she had before; but, in 1792, she was urged on by the genius of *freedom*, and now she was led forth by an *Emperor and King*, the son-in-law of the Royal House of Austria.—Those, therefore, who contend, that it is freedom which alone is capable of securing the independence of nations, will find in the history of the French revolution the *proof* of the truth of their doctrine. France was invaded before; she was actually invaded by Austria, Prussia, England, and Holland;

but, though in a state of internal distraction; though the people hardly knew who were their rulers, or from whom they received their orders; France then did not, like Napoleon, fill proclamations with professions of a desire for peace; but, on the contrary, proclaimed death to the first man who should be base enough to propose to *treat* with any power, so long as that power dared to keep a single soldier on the soil of France. This was the language of the Republicans of France, who rushed forth against their invaders, who drove them from their soil, or buried them beneath it; who pursued them; who punished them, and who made some of them, on their own soil, sue for peace at the hands of those whose liberties they had attacked, and whose principles and persons they had treated with disdain. This ending of the drama, therefore, only tends to confirm the doctrine, that liberty, besides being the greatest of civil blessings, is the only infallible defence of nations. The triumph is the triumph of *republicans*, indeed; for, it was not, 'till the banners of republicanism ceased to be displayed, that defeat attended the Arms of France. It is not the “child and champion” of Jacobinism who has fallen; it is an *Emperor and King*; it is a *son-in-law of the ancient House of Austria*; it is a man, who, after having betrayed the cause of liberty, treated the people with contempt. I do not say, that this is the *best* termination that could have happened to the contest; but certainly it is the *second best*; for, to have left Napoleon with a *moderate* degree of power, would have been a million times worse than the restoration of the Bourbons, even with the old regime along with them.—But, what is much more interesting to *us* than every thing else is, the effect that this great event will have upon *ourselves*. It has been remarked, that this event, which, for so many years, has been wished for with as much impatience as the bridegroom wishes for the wedding day, has not produced so much exultation as a little victory in Spain, and not a tenth part so much as Napoleon's retreat from Moscow.—Some have supposed, that the joy of the nation is *too great for utterance*; but, the fact is, that those, who have been accustomed to be the loudest in their rejoicings at *victories* as being the *food or fuel of war*, have very different feelings at an event, which *must* of necessity produce a cessation of war and of *their gains*. This is the true cause of their apparently unaccountable

chagrin; and, let who will remark well the operations upon this occasion, he will find, that the demonstrations of joy will be mixed with a gloom, which no such demonstrations ever were before.—To those, who live by the *arts of peace*; to those who place their dependence upon the fruits of their *talents and industry*; to those who have derived, neither directly nor indirectly, any benefit from the war, this event, as far as relates to their private interests, at least, must be greatly beneficial. But, to those, who, whether as officers of the army or navy; as contractors, commissaries, pursers, paymasters, storeship and transport owners, biscuit bakers, great-coatmen, army tailors, district and staff commanders, inspecting field officers, surgeons of the army and navy, doctors and proctors, dock-yard people, commissioners, or as any out of all the endless retinue of war; to all these and their relations, on whom they depend; to all these classes, forming no inconsiderable part of the whole nation, this event has been a *stroke of thunder*.—The fact is, that the government has now the distributing of about 60 or 70 millions a-year on account of the war, or money to 700,000 persons at an average of 100*l.* a-year! Let any one imagine, then, with what feelings these, the most *loyal* part of the nation, will contemplate the change about to take place. They rejoiced very sincerely at *victories* over Napoleon; but, it was because those victories kept up the spirit of the people, and countenanced the continuation of the war. He was their political *Satan*, but they did not wish to see him *destroyed*. His destruction is to them similar to what the ministers of the Gospel would experience, if my worthy, though unbelieving friend, Mr. FORDHAM, were to succeed in making us participate in his disbelief of the existence of the *Devil*. The fishermen of Newfoundland, when I have partaken in their convivial meetings, always, as the first toast, gave “the *Pope*;” and, upon the same principle, I have no doubt, that Napoleon has been frequently toasted by army and navy contractors. The race, of which I am speaking, cried out most bitterly against Napoleon. They called him all manner of vile names. He was a murderer, a monster, a very devil incarnate; but, this was to prevent us from *making peace with him*. That was all. They did not want him *destroyed*. As long as they could keep the people in *alarm* at him; as long as they could, by any means, con-

trive to make us believe, that it was necessary for us to *pay them*, in order to be protected *against him*, it was all they wanted. Their wishes did not extend to the rooting up of the tree: they only wanted to continue to gather and eat the fruit.—They console themselves now with the hope, that *still a large naval and military force will be kept up*. For WHAT? Who are we *afraid* of now? What *pretext* is there now, or can there be *invented*, for keeping up such a force? And, this is one of the great advantages of the dethronement of Napoleon. For, if he had been left in power, however closely his nails might have been pared, there would never, with all these great interests at work, have been wanting a pretext for a vast military and naval expenditure, and for barracks, depots, and military colleges all over the country; aye, and for district and staff commands, and inspectorships, and local militia, and the like. But *now*, there can be no pretext. We have got rid of the scare-crow; the hob-goblin is gone; the political and military Devil is annihilated; and, what is more, we have restored in France precisely that order of things, which we always professed to seek for, as the sure and certain means of lasting peace.—So that from their carriages these gentry must descend. We, who sought for *peace*, shall have our wish. We thought that peace might be safely made with Napoleon. We were called Jacobins for that opinion; but, at any rate, we shall now have peace. This peace, and especially in the way that it will come, will produce a change in England almost worthy of the name of a *revolution*. The 50,000 poor souls, who have so long been cooped up in our prisons, will again see their fine country, and will leave all their keepers, their commissaries, their clerks, their beef and bread (I have a bit of the latter that I shall keep) contractors; all their turnip and potatoe contractors; all the swarm that lived in guarding and supplying them; all these *worthy* gentlemen they will leave to *cultivate the arts of peace*, to sell beef and bread to their neighbours, and to be employed by those who may stand in need of the services of such persons. That immense town of Portsmouth, and that other immense town of Plymouth, together with Chatham and others, will now be relieved from the press that annoy them. The loyal people of those places, who have built such fine streets for the reception of new comers, will now be able to give proofs of their public spirit and gra-

titute in accommodating, with large elbow room, the gentlemen who will return from the wars. No longer shall we see families plunged in mourning for the loss of relations on service; tender fathers and mothers, who, out of pure love of their king and hatred of Napoleon, have sent their sons into the army and navy, will no longer be looking with paternal anxiety into the lists of killed and wounded. They will now enjoy the society of their children by their own fire-sides: under their own vines, and own fig-trees they may sit, with no one to make them afraid. Those, who have been supplying great-coats for the army, and trousers for the navy; all the army butchers and bakers; all, yea *all*, may now, and *must* now, cultivate the arts of peace; that is to say, they must work, in some way or other, for their bread; for the warlike Devil is destroyed, and their occupation is gone.—And, oh! ye Barrack-Masters; ye guardians of the nation's coals and candles, and bed-steads, and bedding, and pots, and kettles, and fire-shovels, and pokers, what think ye of the fall of Napoleon? Think you that your horses will be so sleek and the livery of your servants so gay? Will your wives now find it so difficult to curb their steeds, sufficiently to restrain them from trampling on the people by whose labour they have been maintained?—The constables' staff; this is the sort of arms, to which Englishmen formerly yielded obedience, and to which alone, let us now hope, they will, in future be, in any way subjected.—There is now no room for any pretext for keeping up any force greater than that, at most, which was kept up after the close of the American war, when, colonies included, the whole did not exceed *thirty-seven thousand men*.

—But, if, contrary to every rational ground of hope, a great force should be kept up, and a great annual expence still incurred, what reason should we have to boast of this termination of the contest? It will be very easy to shew, when the proper time comes, that *all* which we shall now get; all which we shall now secure; that all which we say we shall get, we *had* before the war began, and might have continued to enjoy *it without any war, or any debt at all*; but that is too large and too interesting a subject to be treated of here, and especially before people's minds have settled down into any thing like sober thought. We are as yet in the delirious hour of the feast, and it is too soon to talk about the *reckoning*. The bill; the bill is the

serious subject. The *eight hundred millions of debt*; the paper-money; the income-tax, and such like topics must be reserved, 'till the delirium has subsided a little. At present, therefore, I shall deal with *minor* matters. If we do not reduce our expences; if we do not reduce very low our military and naval force; if barracks, and depots, and military colleges, are still to go on, what shall we have gained by this great event? While the war lasted, or, indeed, while the warlike Devil had been in power, people would have paid, as far as they could, with some degree of content; but this Devil being so completely destroyed, what will they say, if they have still to pay the *same taxes* as when he was in power, and when they were made to believe, that the income-tax was absolutely necessary to preserve them from being devoured by him?—This event will have fine effect in *opening of eyes*. We have been groping on blind-folded for twenty-two years. Many things were amiss, it was acknowledged, but *peace*, and especially the fall of Napoleon, would put all to rights. Now, then, we shall *see*. We shall see whether the income-tax will be repealed; we shall see whether the Bank will pay in specie; we shall see whether it was the malignant hostility of Napoleon that kept our guineas out of circulation; we shall see whether the paupers will become less numerous, without the repeal of taxes; we shall see whether loans will cease: and, if we see none of these, we shall see how the loyal people, who pay taxes and do not receive any, will stare at one another. They will all become jacobins, I am afraid; that is to say, people who do not like to work to earn bread for others, who do nothing, to eat. When a man now ventures to say, that he thinks it wrong, that one man should receive out of the taxes many thousands a year for doing nothing, he cannot be *answered* by an observation that he is a *partizan of Napoleon*. This *answer* will not now be given to those who say, that seats in parliament ought not to be bought and sold. Some other answer must now be found out; and, when the people are called upon for as much in taxes as they were before, they will look so silly at each other first, and then they will begin to bite their lips and grind their teeth. But, gentlemen! act like gentlemen. You have had a feast; you have just been shouting and rejoicing; and pray, *pay the reckoning*. People do not, now-a-days, have feasts for nothing. They pay the bill;

and John Bull, who is a very liberal fellow, ought to act like himself, and pay it without grumbling. This is what old George Rose will tell us, I am sure, when he calls a county-meeting in Hampshire, and at which meeting I shall, if alive and well, certainly attend to give my voice for congratulating the Regent upon the cessation of war and plunder, and upon the speedy approach of guineas in lieu of paper.—The *reckoning* is a part of a feast, which some people forget; but we must not forget it: we must keep it constantly in view; and, amongst the benefits of the French revolution to France, the French people have *no reckoning to pay*. They pay off the score of the old government, and they have contracted no *new* debt. They begin the world afresh, full-handed; and they will, as they would have done under Napoleon, start in the career of peace with amazing advantages. Their country has not been drained. It is the finest country in the world. Those who cannot live here and pay the taxes, will go thither to spend their money and live cheap. But, I suppose, the king of France, out of *gratitude* to this country, will not suffer his people to rival us! These notions are afloat. Wild as they are, they are afloat. The King of France, who certainly has shown great constancy in all his trials, will, I dare say, be highly gratified to see himself under the royal flag of the Duke of Clarence, wafting him over to France; but, that will scarcely deprive him of his *memory*. He must bear in mind a little what is passed. He has travelled about a good deal from country to country. He knows a little of mankind by this time; and, he must be strangely infatuated, if he does not do all that he is able to conciliate *his people*. His army is made to his hands, generals, soldiers, all will be given to him ready prepared; and such an army, too, as there is not in the world. He will not be so weak as to reject the services of such men as Soult and Marmont; and, we may lay our account with not seeing France reduced to a *shadow* to please us. The powers of the continent, having got rid of their dread; having no longer any occasion for our fleets, or our subsidies, will not be very desirous of leaving us absolute masters of all the colonies, and all the commerce of the world; and, besides the war-gentry, I shall not be at all surprised to hear many others, before this day twelve months, regret the fall of Napoleon.—The King of France, as he sails over with the Duke of

Clarence, may amuse himself with reading the Treaty of *Amiens*. That document will always be an instructive lesson to him; and will, doubtless, keep alive in his bosom that gratitude, which he is said to owe to this country.—In short, it is nonsense to talk in this strain. He owes no gratitude to any power. All the powers have, by turns, left him to his fate; and they have now restored him, because they were afraid of Napoleon, or of the example of another revolution. They have, for their own safety, put him upon the throne; and, if he be a wise man; if calamity has not been a teacher in vain, he will seek the good will of **HIS PEOPLE**, who alone can make that throne secure.—It now remains to be seen whether we shall have a commercial intercourse with France; whether we shall be upon the same footing, in that respect, as we were before the war began. If we are not, there will be a clear loss by the war; and, if we are, we shall see whether that intercourse will bring our guineas back again into circulation. So many topics arise, that the mind is puzzled which to choose; but, the event has a *great good* in it, as it will inevitably throw into honest labour, or send to Botany Bay, or the gallows, that swarm of reptiles, who have so long lived by the means of a *hireling press*. No more **SECOND EDITIONS** and **THIRD EDITIONS**. No more trumpeting of lies and cheating the public: Curiosity will now have nothing to work on: The alarm is over: The old maiden ladies will sleep in peace; especially if their incomes should be enlarged by the turning of paper into gold. The hirelings of the press will soon begin to find the lack of traffic. Their talents will soon cease to be vendable. They will be no more wanted than the commissaries and contractors for prisoners of war. Away goes that profitable branch of commerce, the dealing in *Moniteurs*. News will now come from the Continent by the post, and to every one who may have a mind to receive it. It will be no longer *treason* to correspond with France, or to shake a Frenchman by the hand. To revile a man now as a *jacobin*, will be senseless, and will excite ridicule amongst a people who have lost their *fears*.—This is a great good. The *tugbear* is gone: The *hobgoblin* is destroyed: Reason will now resume her sway; and, in spite of all that can be done, I do not care by what means, the lot of those who do not now live upon the taxes, *must be bettered*.

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HAS NAPOLEON FALLEN?

MR. COBBETT.—“Whatever is right:”

—So says Pope, and late events prove it true. It was right that France should be vanquished and that Napoleon should be deposed. It is a highly useful lesson to mankind, to nations, and to sovereigns. It is right *despotic* monarchs should be taught, that nations are not their *property*; that *their* will or caprice do not constitute law; and that the kingly office is but a *trust*! Often have they been told this; a Charles, a James, and a Lewis have, at their cost, been so taught.—These lessons, however, having proved insufficient, the French nation and Napoleon, have now given to the world another, and a more exalted specimen. The first of these have exerted their indefeasible right in deposing Napoleon. The latter has frankly acknowledged that right, by nobly signing his abdication; and, like Cæsar, when assassinated in the Senate, on discovering his son among the conspirators, after feebly and tenderly exclaiming, *et la Brute*, covered his head with his robe, and sunk unresisting and silent. So Napoleon, when informed of the national will, expressed by the senate, with an elevation of sentiment to which few can attain, calmly and with dignity signed his own abdication! Let the unfeigned and grateful thanks of mankind follow him for having acted thus. After having rendered the most essential services to the nation while a Republic; after having accepted the crown and the throne, made hereditary in his family by the gratitude of that same nation, he, upon a change of the public opinion, and to procure peace to his beloved country, to prevent a civil war for his *personal* rights, acquiesces with its will, expressed by a Senate of his own choosing; calmly descends from the throne; writes, with his own hand, his abdication; and retires.—Monarchs of Europe, to you and to your people this lesson is addressed! From it learn, that it is both honourable and safe to attend to your *people's wishes*!—Napoleon in his abdication says, “The allied powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon was the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares, that he renounces for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy, and that there is no personal sacrifice, *even that of life*, which he is not ready to make to the interest of France.”—Here he asserts, not his crown merely, but his life

to be at the disposal of his country, and that he would joyfully lay down both for its salvation and prosperity. In the opposite scale to gold, he throws magnanimity; but, in this refined age, gold preponderates, and Napoleon falls! Yet this was the man of the people's choice.—Now the malignant scribblers of venality accuse him with cowardice for having so abdicated. These dastardly and time serving reptiles, well versed in the suggestions of cowardice, judging of Napoleon's mind by their own, cannot conceive any other motive for his resignation: But were they, or were the impartial and sensible for them, to revert to a public document published four months prior to the date of his abdication, they would there find that step intimated, not indeed in *positive* language but strongly hinted at, as the future purchase of peace to the French nation, if it should prove necessary. This is contained in the speech of M. De Fontanes to the Conservative Senate. The whole discourse would well bear, at this critical juncture, a republication, with explanatory notes, for the use of the good people of England.—The passage alluded to runs thus:—“This appeal to the national honour is dictated by the love of peace; of that peace, which is not obtained by *weakness* but by *firmness*; of that peace in short, which the Emperor, WITH A NEW SPECIES OF COURAGE, PROMISES TO GRANT AT THE PRICE OF GREAT SACRIFICES.”—Although the word ABDICATION is not here positively made use of, yet it is strongly implied in the expressions, *with a new species of courage* and *at the price of great sacrifices*.—Subsequent events have shown what, *that new species of courage* meant; though our venal and ignorant writers cannot comprehend this because it is made up of materials they are not provided with; because it is composed of principle, honour, self-command, and disinterestedness, of which they are wholly destitute. Noble France! Magnanimous Napoleon! if it be true that this twenty years war has cost Britain upwards of eight hundred millions; this dethroning, this abdicating lesson, is fully worth the expense; for although other nations may reap the benefit while we alone pay the cost, yet the whole human species will derive advantage from it. In marching the combined armies into France; in taking possession of the capital; in compelling the Senate to dethrone Napoleon; and to assign reasons for so doing, the Allies have jointly given the death blow to despotism

all over civilized Europe; they have delin-
 nated, in strong colours, the facility of a
 people's overthrowing every species of ty-
 ranny; they have taught their own sub-
 jects that they are *men*; that reason, right,
 and power, belong to the people. Their
 soldiers, after receiving instruction in
 France, will carry it to their fellow sub-
 jects at home.—The very savage and fierce
 Cossack will say, it was in obedience to
 the *sovereign will of the people* that the
 great, the renowned Napoleon, who had
 so often and so valiantly vanquished their
 sovereigns, and then extended his friendly
 hand to raise them from the dust; that
 this very Napoleon, the conqueror of Em-
 perors, the maker of Kings, had abdicated
 his crown at the *wish of his people*!—He
 did not make war upon them; he did not
 reproach them as rebels; he abdicated.
 On learning this, Russians, Prussians, Aus-
 trians, and Germans of every denomina-
 tion will ask, have the people then such
 rights? Have the people such powers?—
 Reflexion follows.—But these advan-
 tages are confined to our Allies.—Our King
 (God bless him) can do no wrong. We,
 therefore, can have no pretence for voting
 him out of the throne. But our good
 King, like unto a valuable plant upon a
 hot-bed, may grow surrounded by noxious
 weeds; may be both stunted and shadowed
 by them. These weeds it is equally a
 gardener's, as a nation's duty, to pluck up
 by the roots; and among other such weeds
 now growing rapidly, and surrounding the
 royal plant, we certainly must class *cor-
 ruption*, and consider it an imperious duty
 to root it out most speedily.—**REFORM
 OF PARLIAMENT**—a dreadful sound
 to the corrupt;—a Reform of Parliament,
 now the sole means of saving the country,
 can at present meet with no opposition but
 from corruption.—A Reform of Parlia-
 ment to remedy the past and to prevent
 all future abuses—a Reform of Parliament
 will lay open to the public eye all the items
 of an expenditure of 800 millions—a Re-
 form in Parliament will, by economy, re-
 duce such extravagant expenditure for the
 future; and a Reform in Parliament, by
 acts of justice, may bring back much of it
 to the public purse. The flimsy excuse,
that this is not the time, for we are at war,
 is now upset. We are no longer at war.
 None, then, but the base and the corrupt,
 can now resist a **REFORM OF PARLIAMENT**.

ARISTIDES.

SPANISH GRATITUDE.

MR. COBBETT.—If the opinion of an
 individual, who has long perused your
 weekly pages, is of any consequence, I
 venture to say that you effected a most
 judicious *reform* in your work, when you
 excluded the official papers, and threw
 open the whole scope of its pages for origi-
 nal discussion.—It is of little conse-
 quence, in the end, perhaps, whether a
 public writer, like you, be, in heart, a lover
 of truth, provided there be, in all that he
 puts forth under his own name, a proper
 degree of apparent earnestness, and imme-
 diate consistency. The *thinking* part of
 the nation, there is no fear, will afterwards
 exercise their own judgment, with good
 effect, and decision.—Your strong re-
 marks on the war in Spain; on the general
 continental policy of this government; and
 on the public and private professions of
 regard for *the national independence*, as it
 is called, of states, which are so common
 with a certain set of *interested* and half *de-
 luded* men, have always appeared to me
 important and well deserving of attention,
 not only for the ultimate moment of the
 subjects themselves, which were discussed,
 but for the manner in which they were
 brought home to the "work day" consi-
 deration of every Englishman.—My
 object in troubling you with this simple
 note, is to copy for your Register, if you
 choose, an extract from a letter addressed
 by a private soldier in the British artillery
 to his mother in this city. The substance
 of this extract is accurate, and such as any
 man of honour might attest. I shall only
 further premise, that the writer is an High-
 lander of spirit—pretty fair sense at the
 bottom, and of good common education.
 This distinction is necessary to satisfy some
 persons; but you will say, I suppose, that
 with such useful, though not shining, gifts,
 any man may be a good member of society,
 and many with nothing more have made
 bold, able, and useful attempts. The let-
 ter is dated, at St. Sebastian's, in the month
 of January last.—"I am now here, in
 the hospital, and, as some of my comrades
 are writing to Edinburgh, I cannot omit to
 tell you the real state of my present situa-
 tion, for fear that you should get, through
 other channels, or by report, an alarming
 account of me. The house in which I,
 and others of my comrades lately lodged,
 at a place not far from this, unfortunately
 took fire, in the night, and we had only
 time to escape with our lives. Some how
 or other, the inhabitants had most errone-

ously and falsely taken a notion that we had set the house on fire; and they came to us, in our naked and miserable state, to reproach us, and to have revenge. By one of these people I was stabbed, with a knife, in several places, particularly to a great depth in the fleshy part of my side, and left on the ground, with some other wounded companions, to crawl to shelter if we could, or to die. I am now recovering fast. But I cannot help saying, my dear parent, that the wounds in my flesh would have been hardly felt, had they been inflicted by the hand of a generous Frenchman*, in the field of battle, when I had at least the honour of my native land to maintain; but it cuts me to the soul to think how I have suffered from the stabs of a fellow who came behind me when I was naked and distressed; a cowardly and malignant Spaniard! And it is certainly both wonderful and provoking, to the last degree, that our country should spend its millions, and shed its best blood, under pretence of assisting a superstitious, a degraded, and an ungrateful people."—

Amidst all those obvious and outward signs of decay that present themselves to the wearied eye, it is consoling to think, Mr. Cobbett, that we have, in the ranks of our army, men who can write so shrewdly, and feel so honourably.—God grant that these fine materials may be less abused than they have been.—I leave this young soldier to you and your readers, with this short remark: I can allow much for a natural feeling of jealousy in any people towards Allies that come among them, and share their homes, and occupy their fields, as we do; and I think I have some notion what may be the conduct of a victorious army, flushed with success, and actuated by a spirit of revenge; not to view them, also, in the light of a great body of men, in a comparative sense, left to the full scope of all the mere animal passions, and all the worst vices of humanity. In such a state of things, acts will be committed that are calculated to injure, and to enrage any people, and to disgust them even with that cause which may have abstracted truth and general reason on its side. This is a point of universal feeling on which there can be no dispute. Every man needs only to put the case in his own person, and every man

* These are the exact words of this candid and spirited private soldier; one of the rabble who are so often complimented by certain orators.

that has reason is capable to decide.—Taking the conduct of the Spanish people on the whole, however, I can neither join in the shouts of Mr. Canning, to "the universal Spanish nation," nor in the parenthetical and inflated encomiums of Mr. Henry Brougham, on the noble conduct of "that many-headed beast the multitude."—I have heard it stated by persons of good credit, that they had been told, by officers from the Peninsula, friends of theirs, that they would rather choose to lie down, in the field of battle, at night among Frenchmen, than take up their quarters in a Spanish village.—It is for you, Mr. Cobbett, to solve such difficulties. You seem to luxuriate in them: your powers of illustration are peculiarly suited to them; and I gladly leave them to you.

Edinburgh,
5th April, 1814.

J. M.

RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS.

Sir—I am rather surprised at our excessive rejoicing on account of the restoration of the House of Bourbon to the throne of France, as it is without doubt the most unfavourable event, for this country, that could possibly have taken place: for, in a short period of time, we probably may, and certainly shall, see the *family compact*, and the united force of France and Spain, acting against us, and their joint fleets, perhaps, riding triumphant in the channel as they did during the latter part of the unfortunate American war. That masterpiece of politics, which united the different branches of the House of Bourbon in the closest connexion, was projected and concluded by the Duke of Choiseul, whom his countrymen, though they found in him the vastness of Richelieu, the activity of Louvois, the magnificence of Seignelay, and the amiableness of Pomponne, dismissed, as they have done Napoleon to whom France is infinitely more indebted in various respects, than she has been to all her monarchs taken together. This extraordinary man has fulfilled his duty to that country to the very last, from which it would have been a scandalous departure in him to have put into the possession of her enemies the strong holds or fortresses, which they unreasonably demanded. For she had as good a right to make such a demand on them as they had on her: and but for the treachery of the very creatures of his own making, who will probably meet the just reward of their ingratitude, success could not possibly have attended

the Allies; who, in their conduct at Paris, have recognized, on the part of all Europe, the principle, (which though true in theory, ought to be perhaps but seldom acted on) that *the people have a right to dethrone and dismiss their rulers, whenever they become tired of them, or conceive they have acted improperly.* This principle, may possibly, ere long, be brought home to all concerned in such a recognition; to Alexander, the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and even to the Brunswick dynasty itself. It will, however, do much good to mankind, if it produce the effect of putting princes on their good behaviour, and making them pay proper deference and attention to public opinion, and the sentiments of those they govern.—As to peace, no reasonable or thinking man can expect to see one of long continuance or duration while the bank of England exists in its present state, and goes on making such excessive issues of paper, as it has been doing. The greatest evil attending the funding system consists in this, that it is a great encourager and promoter of warfare and bloodshed, by affording the means of carrying them on with facility.

CIVIS.

COUNTER REVOLUTION IN FRANCE. This unexpected event which has given a new turn to all political and military speculations, and which promises to restore peace, for a season, to suffering Europe, has been accomplished without bloodshed, without a civil war; and the Bourbons, who, twenty years ago, were driven from their native land by a justly incensed and indignant people, are now said to be recalled by that same people as the only family who can confer prosperity and happiness upon the nation. Time, which tries all things, will probably soon determine this great question. Meanwhile the rapidity of the occurrences, the multiplicity of topics which these occurrences suggest, their vast magnitude and importance, and the novel circumstances connected therewith, which almost every recurring day bring under notice; render it a matter of prudence to avoid, at least for the present, much discussion respecting them, until the ebullition of public feeling, has somewhat subsided, and mankind are in some degree, restored to their wanted rationality. As, however, I shall afterwards have frequent occasion to refer to the memorable documents which have appeared during this short, but momentous period, I have thought

it proper, to publish the most important of them here, as they form the ground work of every thing that may be said in future respecting this new revolution, and the effects which it is calculated to produce upon the present aspect of civilized, as well as of uncivilized Europe.—When the allies obtained possession of Paris on the 31st. ult. they issued the following declaration of their views and sentiments:—"The armies of the Allied Powers have occupied the capital of France; the Allied Sovereigns receive favourably the wish of the French nation.—They declare, that if the conditions of peace ought to contain stronger guarantees when the question was to bind down the ambition of Bonaparte, they may be more favourable, when, by a return to a wise government, France herself offers the assurance of this repose.—The Sovereigns proclaim, in consequence, that they will no more treat with Napoleon Bonaparte, nor with any of his family.—That they respect the integrity of ancient France, as it existed under its legitimate Kings: they may even do more, because they profess it as a principle, that, for the happiness of Europe, France must be great and strong:—That they will recognise and guarantee the Constitution which France shall adopt. They, therefore, invite the Senate to name immediately a Provisional Government, which may provide for the wants of the Administration, and prepare the constitution which shall suit the French people.—The intentions which I have just expressed, are common to all the Allied Powers. (Signed) ALEXANDER."—Here was an unqualified avowal, made for the first time, that the allied powers would no longer respect the dynasty of Napoleon, or the integrity of France, except under the reign of the Bourbons. The Senate, which had been created by Bonaparte, were thus placed in a situation in which they had only one choice. With the sword drawn over their heads, they assembled to consider the state of degraded France, and the following has been published as the result of their deliberations, if that name can be given with propriety to acts, which were the consequence of fear, while the Senate House was surrounded by a foreign army:—"On the 1st of April, 1814, at half-past three, the Members of the Senate met in consequence of an extraordinary convocation. His Serene Highness the Prince of Benevento, Vice-Grand Elector, President.—His Serene Highness the Prince Vice-Elector, President, then spoke as follows:—"Se-

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NATORS!—The letter which I have had the honour of addressing to each of you to inform you of this extraordinary convocation, acquaints you with the object of it. It is intended to lay proposals before you. This one word sufficiently paints out the liberty which each of you brings into this assembly. It gives you the means to give a generous flow (essor) to the sentiments with which the soul of each of you is filled—the desire of saving your country, and the resolution of hastening to the assistance of a forsaken people.—Senators—Circumstances, however difficult they may be, cannot be above the firm and enlightened patriotism of all the Members of this Assembly. You have, doubtless, all equally felt the necessity of a deliberation which may shut the door against all delay, and which may not let a day pass without re-establishing the action of the administration, the first of all wants, for the formation of a Government, whose authority, founded on the necessities of the moment, cannot but re-assure people's minds."—The Prince Vice-Elector having ceased speaking, several proposals were made by different Members; the question being put, the Senate decrees:—1st, That there shall be established a Provisional Government, charged to provide for the wants of the Administration, and to present to the Senate the plan of a Constitution which may suit the French people.—2d, That the Government shall consist of five Members; and then proceeding to their nomination, the Senate elects for members of the Provisional Government, M. Talleyrand, Prince of Benevente; Count de Bournonville, Senator; Count de Jaucourt, Senator; Duke of Dalberg, Counsellor of State; M. de Montesquieu, ancient member of the Constituent Assembly.—They are proclaimed in this quality by the Prince Vice Grand Elector, President.—His Serene Highness added, that as one of the first cares of the Provisional Government ought to be the drawing up of the plan of a Constitution, the Members of the Government, as soon as they shall employ themselves on this plan, will give notice of it to all the Members of the Senate who are invited to contribute by their wisdom to the perfection of so important a work.—Some Senators demand that this act shall contain an account of the motives which have determined the Senate, and rendered its meeting indispensable.—Other Members, on the contrary, demand that these motives shall form part of the address, which will be published by the members

of the provisional government.—The Senate adopt this last proposal.—A Member proposes to lay down as a principle, and to charge the Members of the Provisional Government to comprehend in substance in the address to the French people:—1. That the Senate and the Legislative Body are declared integral parts of the intended Constitution; subject to the modifications which shall be judged necessary to insure the liberty of the suffrages and opinions.—2. That the army, as well as the retired officers and soldiers, shall retain the ranks, honours, and pensions which they enjoy.—3. That the public debts shall be inviolable.—4. That the sale of the national domains shall be irrevocably maintained.—5. That no Frenchman shall be made answerable for the public opinions which he may have expressed.—6. That the liberty of worship and of conscience shall be maintained and proclaimed, as well as the liberty of the press, subject to the legal repression of the crimes which may arise from the abuse of that liberty.—7. These different proposals, seconded by several Members, were put to the vote by the Prince Vice Grand Elector, President, and adopted by the Senate.—A Member demanded that to reconcile the adoption of these proposals with the confidence due to the Members of the Provisional Government just established, the address to the French People, which this Government is to draw up, shall announce that they are charged to prepare a constitution, such as it shall not in any manner violate the principles which are the bases of these propositions. The Senate adopts this amendment. The Senate adjourns till nine o'clock this evening, to hear and adopt the definitive redaction of the *proces verbal*, and to sign it individually.—Senator Count Barthelemy, Ex-President of the Senate, is appointed President in the absence of the Prince Vice Grand Elector, who cannot be present at this sitting.—It is decreed that the extract of the *proces verbal*, containing the nomination of the Members of the Provisional Government, shall be immediately made out under the signature of the President and Secretaries.—The Senators who, for want of being informed in time, have not been able to attend this sitting, are to be again convoked for the sitting this evening.—These deliberations being finished, the Prince Vice Grand Elector put an end to the sitting. The same day, April the 1st, 1814. At nine in the evening the sitting is resumed; Senator

Count Barthelemy, President. The Senate hears the proces verbal of this day read, and adopts it with some amendments.—It is demanded that this process verbal shall be printed, and six copies distributed to each of the members. This proposal is adopted.—The Members then proceeded to sign the proces verbal as follows:—M. M. Abriel, Barbe de Marbois, Barthelemy, Cardinal de Bayanne, Belderbusch, Bertholet, General Beurnonville, Buonacorsi, Carbouara, General Count Chasseloup, Laubat, Cholet, General Colaud, Cornet, Davous, de Gregory Marcorenco, General Dembarrere, de Pere, Destust de Tracy, General Dharville, Daubersaert, General d'Hedonville, Dubois Debay, Emmery, Fabre-de-l'Aude, General Ferino, Fontanes, Garat, Gregoire, Herwin, de Jaucourt, Journu Aubert, General Klein le Jeas, Lambreschts, Lanjuinais, Lannoy, Le Brun de Rochemont, General Lespinasse, Le Mercier, Maleville, Meermann, Monbadon, Pastoret, Pere, Pontecoulant, Porcher, Rigal, Roger Ducos, St. Martin de Lamothe, General Sainte Suzanne, Saur, Schimmelpenninck, Marshal Serrurier, General Soules, Tascher, General Valence, Marshal de Valmy, Vandeden, Vandepoll, General Vaubois, General Villetard, Vimar, Volney.—The Members absent from indisposition sent their adherence."

The Provisional Government having been nominated in this manner, the Ex-President Barthelemy addressed to each of its members the following letter:—"Paris, April 2d.—Gentlemen, Members of the Provisional Government, The Senate commissions me to request you to signify to the French people to-morrow, that the Senate, by a decree passed in its sitting this evening, has declared, that the Emperor Napoleon and his family have forfeited all right to the throne, and consequently absolved the French people and the army from their oath of allegiance. This act will be sent to you to-morrow, with the motives and reason of it. I have the honour to salute you,—The President of the Senate, BARTHELEMY."

The Senators of Paris were not more prompt in their obedience to the mandates of the allied powers, than the Provisional Government was to comply with the wishes of the Senate. Barthelemy's letter was dated on the evening of the 2d, and next day, the 3d, was named when the request which it contained was expected to be complied with. But these docile ministers,

resolved not to wait for copies of the act which deposed Napoleon; not wishing to be behind hand with the Senate, which had met twice in one day, and, probably, being previously prepared for the part they were to act, hastened to show their devotion to the magnanimous Alexander, by immediately issuing the following proclamation or address to the French army:—"Interior, Paris, April 2, 1814. Soldiers,—France has just broken the yoke under which she has groaned with you for so many years.—You have never fought but for the country; you can no longer fight, unless against it, under the colours of the man who leads you.—Behold all that you have suffered from his tyranny: you were lately a million of men; nearly all have perished: they were delivered up to the sword of the enemy, without food, without hospitals; they were condemned to perish of misery and hunger.—Soldiers, it is full time to end the calamities of the country; peace is in your hands. Will you refuse it to desolated France? Your enemies themselves demand it of you; they regret to ravage these fine countries, and wish only to take up arms against your oppressor and ours. Shall you be deaf to the voice of the country which summons and entreats you? It addresses you by its Senate, by its capital, and, above all, by its misfortunes; you are its noblest children, and cannot belong to him who has ravaged it, who has delivered it up without arms, without defence; who wished to render your name odious to all nations, and who would have compromised your glory, could a man, who is not even a Frenchman, ever weaken the glory of our arms, or the generosity of our soldiers.—You are no longer the soldiers of Napoleon: the Senate and all France absolve you from your oath."

On the 3d, the following proceedings took place in the Senate:—"The sitting which had been adjourned was resumed at four o'clock, when the Senator Count Lambrechts read the revised and adopted plan of the decree which passed in the sitting of yesterday. It is in the following terms:—"The Conservative Senate, considering that in a constitutional monarchy, the monarch exists only in virtue of the constitution or social compact:—That Napoleon Bonaparte, during a certain period of firm and prudent government, afforded to the nation reasons to calculate for the future on acts of wisdom and justice; but that afterwards he violated the compact

which united him to the French people, particularly in levying imposts and establishing taxes otherwise than in virtue of the law, against the express tenor of the oath which he had taken on his ascending the throne, conformable to Article 53 of the Act of the Constitutions of the 28th Floreal, year 12;—That he committed this attack on the rights of the people, even in adjourning, without necessity, the Legislative Body, and causing to be suppressed, as criminal, a report of that body, the title of which, and its share in the national representation, he disputed;—That he undertook a series of war in violation of article 50, of the act of the Constitutions of the 22d Frimaire, year 8; which purports, that declarations of war should be proposed, debated, decreed, and promulgated in the same manner as laws;—That he issued, unconstitutionally, several decrees, inflicting the punishment of death; particularly the two decrees of the 5th of March last, tending to cause to be considered as national, a war which would not have taken place but for the interests of his boundless ambition;—That he violated the constitutional laws by his decrees respecting the prisoners of State;—That he annulled the responsibility of the Ministers, confounded all authorities, and destroyed the independence of judicial bodies.—Considering that the liberty of the press, established and consecrated as one of the rights of the nation, has been constantly subjected to the arbitrary controul of his Police, and that at the same time he has always made use of the press to fill France and Europe with misrepresentations, false maxims, doctrines favourable to despotism, and insults on foreign governments:—That acts and reports heard by the Senate have undergone alterations in the publication;—Considering that, instead of reigning according to the terms of his oath, with a sole view to the interest, the happiness, and glory of the French People, Napoleon completed the misfortunes of his country by his refusal to treat on conditions which the national interests required him to accept, and which did not compromise the French honour;—By the abuse which he made of all the means entrusted to him in men and money;—By the abandonment of the wounded without dressings, without assistance, and without subsistence;—By various measures, the consequences of which were the ruin of the towns, the depopulation of the country, famine and contagious diseases;—Considering that, for all these causes, the Imperial

Government established by the *Senatus Consultum* of the 28th Floreal, year 12, has ceased to exist, and that the wish manifested by all Frenchmen calls for an order of things, the first result of which should be the restoration of general peace, and which should also be the æra of a solemn reconciliation of all the states of the great European Family—The Senate declares and decrees as follows:—Art. 1. Napoleon Bonaparte has forfeited the throne, and the hereditary right established in his family is abolished.—2. The French people and the army are released from their oath of fidelity towards Napoleon Bonaparte.—3. The present decree shall be transmitted by a message to the Provisional Government of France, conveyed forthwith to all the departments and the armies, and immediately proclaimed in all the quarters of the capital."

While the Senate was thus engaged in fulminating its decrees, the following correspondence took place betwixt Prince Schwartzenberg and the Duke of Ragusa (Marmont) respecting the personal liberty and safety of Napoleon.—"April 3, 1814. —Monsieur le Mareschall—I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency, by a safe person, all the public papers and documents necessary to render your Excellency perfectly acquainted with the events which have taken place since you quitted the capital, as well as an invitation from the members of the Provisional Government to range yourself under the banners of the good French cause. I supplicate you in the name of your country and humanity, to listen to the proposals which will put an end to the effusion of the precious blood of the brave men whom you command.—SCHWARTZENBERG."—"Monsieur le Mareschall—I have received the letter which your Excellency has done me the honour to address to me, as well as the papers which it inclosed. Public opinion has always been the rule of my conduct. The army and the people being exempt from the oath of allegiance towards the Emperor Napoleon by the decree of the Senate, I am disposed to concur in an union between the army and the people, which will prevent all chance of civil war, and stop the effusion of blood; consequently I am ready to quit with my troops the army of the Emperor Napoleon, on the following conditions, of which I demand from you the guarantee in writing:—Art. 1. I, Charles, Prince of Schwartzenberg, Marshal and Commander in Chief of the Allied Armies, guarantee to all the French

troops, who, in consequence of the decree of the Senate of the 2d of April, shall quit the banners of Napoleon Bonaparte, that they may retire freely to Normandy, with their arms, baggage, and ammunition, and with the same considerations and military honours, which the allied troops reciprocally owe to each other.—2. That, if in consequence of this movement, the events of the war should cause the person of Napoleon Bonaparte to fall into the hands of the Allies, his life shall be guaranteed to him, and his liberty, in a space of ground and circumscribed territory, at the choice of the Allied Powers and the French Government. *RAGUSA.*——“Monsieur le Mareschall—I cannot sufficiently express the satisfaction which I feel in learning the eagerness with which you accept the invitation of the Provisional government, to range yourselves conformably to the decree of the 2d of this month, under the banners of the French cause. The distinguished services which you have rendered to your country are generally acknowledged, but you have crowned them by restoring to their country, the few brave troops, who have escaped the ambition of a single man. I entreat you to believe that I particularly appreciate the delicacy of the article which you demand, and which I accept relative to the person of Napoleon. Nothing could better characterise that amiable generosity, which is natural to Frenchmen, and which particularly distinguished the character of your excellency. Accept the assurance of my high consideration. (Signed) SCHWARTZENBERG. At my head-quarters, April 4, 1814.”

The following letter of Marshal Ney, Prince of Moskwa, was addressed to the Prince of Benevente, Chief of the Provisional Government:——“My Lord—I proceeded to Paris yesterday with Marshal the Duke of Tarentum and the Duke of Vicenza, with full powers to the Emperor of Russia to defend the interests of the dynasty of the Emperor Napoleon. An unforeseen event broke off the negotiations which seemed at first to promise a favourable termination. From that time I saw that to save our dear country from the frightful evils of civil war, it remained only for the French to embrace the cause of our ancient Kings, and I repaired to-night to the Emperor Napoleon to manifest this wish.—The Emperor, convinced of the critical situation in which he had placed France, and the impossibility of saving her himself, has appeared disposed to resign,

and to give in his full and entire abdication. To-morrow I hope to have from him the formal and authentic act, and shall soon afterwards have the honour of waiting upon your lordship. I am, &c.—(Signed)—Prince of MOSKWA.”—*Fontainebleau, April 5, Half-past 11 at night.*

Next day Napoleon abdicated the thrones of France and Italy by the following declaration:——“The Allied Powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon was the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the Peace of Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy, and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make to the interest of France. Done at the Palace of Fontainebleau, the 6th April, 1814.”

On the same day in which Napoleon gave the above remarkable proof of magnanimity, which shows how much his passions were under the controul of his judgment, the Senate held another meeting at which the following plan of a new Constitution, prepared by the Provisional Government, was presented and approved of:——“The Conservative Senate deliberating upon the plan of a constitution presented to it by the Provisional Government in execution of the act of the Senate of the 1st instant;—After having heard the report of the special commission of seven members, Decrees as follow:—Art. 1. The French Government is monarchical and hereditary from male to male, in order of primogeniture.—2. The French people call freely to the throne of France LOUIS STANISLAUS XAVIER DE FRANCE, brother of the last King, and after him the other members of the House of BOURBON, in the ancient order.—3. The ancient nobility resume their titles. The new preserve theirs hereditarily. The legion of honour is maintained with its prerogatives. The King shall fix the decoration.—4. The executive power belongs to the King.—5. The King, the Senate, and the Legislative Body, concur in the making of laws.—Plans of laws may be equally proposed in the Senate and in the Legislative Body. Those relating to contributions can only be proposed in the Legislative Body. The King can invite equally the two Bodies to occupy themselves upon objects which he deems proper. The sanction of the King is necessary for the completion of a law.—6. There are 150 Senators at least, and 200 at most. Their dignity is immoveable, and hereditary from

male to male, in order of primogeniture. They are named by the King. The present Senators, with the exception of those who should renounce the quality of French citizen, are maintained, and form part of this number. The actual endowment of the Senate, and the Senatorships, belongs to them. The revenues are divided equally between them, and pass to their successors. In case of the death of a Senator without direct male posterity, his portion returns to the public treasure. The Senators who shall be named in future, cannot partake of this endowment. 7. The Princes of the Royal Family, and the Princes of the blood, are by right members of the Senate. The functions of a Senate cannot be exercised until the person has attained the age of 21 years.—8. The Senator decides the cases in which the discussion of objects before them shall be public or secret.—9. Each department shall send to the Legislative Body the same number of deputies it sent thither. The deputies who sat in the Legislative Body at the period of the last adjournment shall continue to sit till they are replaced. All preserve their pay. In future they shall be chosen immediately by the Electoral Bodies, which are preserved, with the exception of the changes that may be made by a law in their organization. The duration of the functions of the deputies to the Legislative Body is fixed at five years. The new Election shall take place for the Session of 1816.—10. The Legislative Body shall assemble of right each year on the 1st of October. The King may convoke it extraordinarily; he may adjourn it; he may also dissolve it; but in the latter case another Legislative Body must be formed, in three months at the latest, by the Electoral Colleges.—11. The Legislative Body has the right of discussion. The sittings are public, unless in cases where it chuses to form itself into a general committee.—12. The Senate, Legislative Body, Electoral Colleges and Assemblies of Cantons elect their President from among themselves.—13. No Member of the Senate, or Legislative Body, can be arrested without a previous authority from the Body to which he belongs. The trial of a member of the Senate or Legislative Body, belongs exclusively to the Senate.—14. The Ministers may be members either of the Senate or Legislative Body.—15. Equality of proportion in the taxes is of right; no tax can be imposed or received, unless it has been freely consented to by the Legislative Body and the Senate. The land-tax can

only be established for a year. The budget of the following year, and the accounts of the preceding year, are presented annually to the Legislative Body and the Senate, at the opening of the sitting of the Legislative Body.—16. The law shall fix the mode and amount of the recruiting of the army.—17. The independence of the judicial power is guaranteed. No one can be removed from his natural Judges. The institution of Juries is preserved, as well as the publicity of trial in criminal matters. The penalty of confiscation of goods is abolished. The King has the right of pardoning.—18. The courts and ordinary tribunals existing at present are preserved; their number cannot be diminished or increased, but in virtue of a law. The judges are for life and irremovable, except the justices of the peace and the judges of commerce. The commissions and extraordinary tribunals are suppressed, and cannot be re-established.—19. The courts of cassation, the courts of appeal, and the tribunals of the first instance, propose to the king three candidates for each place of judge vacant in their body. The King chooses one of the three. The King names the first presidents and the public ministry of the courts and the tribunals.—20. The military on service, the officers and soldiers on half-pay, the widows and pensioned officers, preserve their ranks, honours, and pensions.—21. The person of the King is sacred and inviolable. All the acts of the Government are signed by a minister. The ministers are responsible for all which those acts contain violatory to the laws, public and private liberty, and the rights of citizens.—22. The freedom of worship and conscience is guaranteed. The ministers of worship are treated and protected alike.—23. The liberty of the press is entire, with the exception of the legal repression of offences which may result from the abuse of that liberty. The senatorial commissions of the liberty of the press and individual liberty are preserved.—24. The public debt is guaranteed. The sales of the national domains are irrevocably maintained.—25. No Frenchman can be prosecuted for opinions or votes which he has given.—26. Every person has the right to address individual petitions to every constituted authority.—27. All Frenchmen are equally admissible to all civil and military employments.—28. All the laws existing at present remain in vigour, until they be legally repealed. The code of civil laws shall be entitled, *Civil Code of the*

French.—29. The present Constitution shall be submitted to the acceptance of the French people, in the form which shall be regulated. LOUIS STANISLAUS XAVIER shall be proclaimed King of the French, as soon as he shall have signed and sworn, by an act stating, *I accept the Constitution; I swear to observe it, and cause it to be observed.*—This oath shall be repeated in the solemnity, when he shall receive the oath of Fidelity of the French.—(Signed) Prince of Beneventum, President; Counts de Valence and de Pastoret, Secretaries; the Prince Arch-Treasurer; Counts Abrial, Barbe Marbois, Emmery, Bartlemy, Baldersbuck, Beurnonville, Cornet, Garbenara, Legrand, Chasseloup, Chollet, Coland, Davous, de Gregory, Decroix, Depere, Dembarrere, Dhaubersaert, Destatt, Tracy, d'Harville, d'Hedouville, Fabre (del'Aude), Ferino, Dubois Dubais, de Fontanes, Garat, Gregoire, Herwyn de Nevelle, Jacourt, Klein, Journu, Aubert, Lambrecht, Lanjuinais, Lejeas, Lebrun de Rochemont, Lemerrier, Meerman de Lespenasse, de Mautbadon, Lenoir Laroche, de Mailleville, Redon, Roger Ducos, Pere, Tascher, Porcher de Rechebourg, de Ponte Coulant, Saur, Rigal St. Martin, de Lamotte, Sainte Suzanne, Sieyes, Schimmelpenninck, Van de Vandegelder, Van de Pol, Venturi, Vau-bois Duc de Valmy, Villetard, Vimat, Van Zaylen van Nyevelt."

Since the promulgation of the new Constitution, which, it appears, has been joyfully accepted by Louis XVIII. the following proclamation has been published by Marshal Jourdan, by which the fact is placed beyond all dispute, that Napoleon is to retire to the island of Elba on an allowance of six millions of franks, about £ 40,000 sterling per annum:—"Soldiers! The Emperor Napoleon has abdicated the imperial throne, and is to retire to the island of Elba, with a pension of 6,000,000 franks.—The Senate has adopted a Constitution which guarantees civil liberty, and insures the rights of the Monarch.—Louis Stanislaus Xavier, brother of Louis XVI. is called to the throne by the wish of the French nation, and the army has manifested the same sentiments.—The accession of Louis XVIII. is the guarantee of peace.—At length, after so many glorious campaigns, so many fatigues and honourable wounds, you are going to enjoy some repose.—Louis XVIII. is a Frenchman, he will not be a stranger to the glory with which the armies have co-

vered themselves. This Monarch will grant you the rewards which you have merited by long services, your brilliant deeds and honourable wounds.—Let us then swear obedience and fidelity to Louis XVIII. and let us display the White Cockade, as a sign of adhesion to an event which stops the effusion of blood, gives us peace, and saves our country.—This order shall be read by the commanders of the different corps, at the head of the troops. JOURDAN, the Marshal of the Empire, Commander in Chief of the 15th Military Division. Head-quarters, Rouen, April 8."

Although it might have been supposed, that the forming of a new constitution for France, was a labour of sufficient magnitude to occupy the whole attention of the Provisional Government, during the short period they were engaged upon it, we still find that they found leisure, even then, to direct their views to other matters.—By the first decree which they published, they declared the restoration of the Pope to his former power. By another, the total suppression of all those public schools, established in France by Napoleon, for the Education of poor Children; and, a third respecting the liberty of the press, ran as follows:

"The Provisional Government considering that the most effectual means of establishing public liberty is to prevent licentiousness; that the liberty of the press, which should be the safeguard of the citizens, ought not to become an instrument of insult and defamation; that, under present circumstances, such an abuse, and especially that which might be made of pamphlets and placards, would easily become a perfidious engine in the hands of those who might endeavour still to sow disturbance among the citizens, and thus impede the noble movement which should unite them all in the same just cause; order, —1. No placard or bill shall be posted in the streets or public places, without having been previously presented at the prefecture of police, where an imprimatur shall be given.—2. Every hawker is prohibited from crying, selling, or distributing in the streets any pamphlet or sheet, the distribution of which has not been authorised by the prefecture of police."

NOTICE.

The Public are respectfully informed that the Register will, in future, be published by Mr. Morton, No. 94, Strand, to whom all communications and orders (post paid) may be transmitted, addressed to the Editor.